

fenced for loose carabaos are pastured above. Fields close to the barrio's main path, however, are often unfenced for people can watch these fields from their residences.

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When the fields lie fallow, pigs usually forage at will in the barrio. Once the corn is planted the pigs are tied or penned. Normally the pigs are tied by a hind leg to a post under the raised floor of the house; this means increased work, for food must now be brought to the animals. Chickens remain loose but efforts are made to keep them from scratching in the newly planted fields.

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In Caticugan wild pigs menace agriculture only in Upper Naga. At night they come from the hills across the Mantuyop River and often do considerable damage. The destruction of crops by wild pigs and monkeys (there are none in the vicinity of Caticugan) increases as one travels up the Siaton River valley.

Carabaos often damage crops in Caticugan. Several farmers lost most of their corn crop in 1951 due to destruction by loose carabaos. Once a small herd of wandering carabaos was caught in a newly-planted paddy in Barrio Caticugan. The paddy owners drove the herd to the poblacion where they were put in the public corral. The owners had to pay a fifty-cent fine for each animal in order to obtain their release. If the carabaos are not branded, as is often the case, another fifty-cent fee is charged for recording the brand at the municipio.

Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

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Local Harvest Migrations

During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.⁴⁹ Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacang and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[13]

⁴⁹Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barrio folk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

The second paddy corn is usually planted in June or earlier. Not all of the ricefields are planted with a second corn crop. The year of my residence the second crop was planted before the first non-irrigated corn harvest was finished. If the paddies are planted and harvested late the chance of getting a second crop is smaller; precipitation is more abundant and the paddies flood, killing the corn. If the second corn crop is planted late it will not have time to mature before the rice must be transplanted. Corn that does not mature because of excessive moisture is fed to the animals. [231] •

The fact that successfully raising a second corn crop in the paddies is difficult is reflected in the preparation of the land; the ricefields are merely furrowed, not plowed or harrowed, and often the cut stubs of previous corn stalks remain in the paddy. Since the land is not well tilled the second corn crop is usually weedy. Many farmers who planted a second corn crop in 1951 had sufficient time to prepare the land as thoroughly as they did for the first planting, but did not do so. As a result the yield is usually much smaller than the first crop.

Some old people believe it is unwise to handle harvested corn ears roughly. One informant told the story of the poor man who came to the house of a rich farmer who had kicked and thrown his ears of corn around "disrespectfully." The beggar asked for some corn but the rich man said he had none to give. Then the corn ears spoke to the poor man: "Take us with you, poor old man. This

Dauin municipalities; vendors from these municipalities come to the Siaton marketplace every Saturday and Sunday to sell cured tobacco leaves. 438

FARM ANIMALS

Caticugan is typical of the Philippines in that the carabao is the farmer's most important animal. Pigs, goats and chickens also are found in most barrios. Caticugan and Siaton municipality, however, had more cattle and horses before the war than usual in so small a region of the Philippines. Prior to the Japanese invasion, a thriving cattle industry in Siaton municipality centered largely at Bondo. 231 ●

Carabaos

The carabao is the most important beast of burden in the Philippines. The Bell Report states:

In general, the recovery in livestock numbers has been much slower than in crop production and because of the extensive use of carabaos and oxen for power, it has been one of the important factors retarding the recovery of crop output.⁷⁵

This report estimated that the 1940 carabao level in the Philippines would be attained in 1953. Bondo plateau, before the war, supported one herd of carabao said to number more than 800 head; it consisted of Pure Buffalo,

⁷⁵"Technical Memoranda No. 1, Agriculture," U.S. Economic Survey Mission's Report (Bell Mission), The Philippines Herald, Manila, (November 14, 1950), p. 2.

Shanghai and Cambodian varieties. In 1951 the same herd, owned by a Spaniard living in Bais, contained only seventy animals. The pre-war carabao level was not attained by 1953 in Siaton municipality. 231

In Caticugan there are fewer carabaos than before the last war but most families have an animal for agricultural work. Many families once had a few more head than were needed for farming purposes, and this surplus has not yet been replaced. One man rented a carabao for plowing his field, from a relative of his wife, for fifty cents a day. Most carabao in Caticugan are the native variety although there are a few pink-skinned Cambodian carabaos. Carabaos are required to be registered when two or three years old and their brand recorded at the municipio. The fee is fifty cents; consequently many owners do not obey the ordinance. As a result local figures are of little value in determining the actual number of carabao in Siaton municipality.

Pangligiran hill is the favorite place to graze Caticugan's carabaos. There usually are plenty of fodder and wallow holes for the animals and no immediate fields. The wooded hills across the Mantuyop River from Naga are another site where carabaos are taken to graze. Since the carabaos in these two localities are usually permitted to wander untied, they cohabit at will and no selective breeding is possible. 231
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Calves are branded when they are about one year old. Young carabao are put to work in the fields when three or 231

four years old. The age at which the animal is used on the farm depends on the type of soil to be plowed or the carabao's strength. With proper care a carabao may be worked for thirty years.

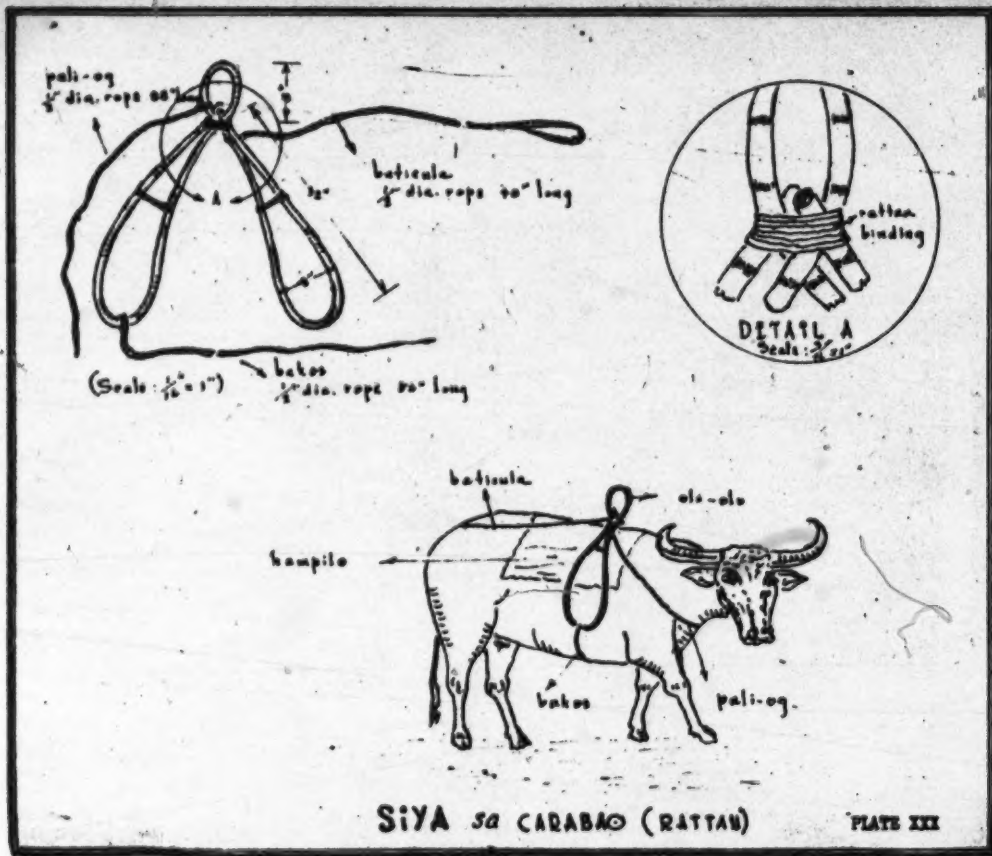
When carabaos are to be trained, a small hole is made through the animal's septum with a sharpened bamboo. A woven rattan ring or coconut button is put in the hole but the rope is not attached until the wound is healed. Carabaos are sometimes ridden and a "saddle" is used for such occasions. (See Plate XXX.)¹

The training of a young carabao consists in teaching the animal to obey certain commands. At first the animal is required to pull a log or a govoran (a carrying device consisting of two pieces of bamboo with a center cross-piece). As the carabao responds to this training, learning when to stop and go, to wear the harness, pull a load and walk straight, the plow is attached and the animal is worked in the fields.

Proper care of carabaos consists of permitting them to bathe in the river or to wallow in mud holes once a day. Since the carabao lacks sweat glands this is the only way the animal may cool itself. Some men said the carabao should never be permitted to wallow in mud after a day's work since this would make them lose appetite and grow thin. Carabaos that are penned-- which is not common--are fed cornstalks, rice straw or green grass gathered by children. The task of taking the

1[See p. 423, cat. 231-- Analyst]

P.423



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The task of taking the
animals to the river to drink and baths, or of moving
them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the
duty of young boys.

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[462]

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in
1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton,
killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinder-
pest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd.

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There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, al-
though many owners treated their animals with the same
medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A
white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not
cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by
the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt,
powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native
veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was
none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowl-
edge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal;
this was done by the owner.

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous
spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans
and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and
to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treat-
ment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The follow-
ing ingredients are used: roots of the hona (Abrus
precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa
Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa
(Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and
roots from the tachoy bush, (Canthium synochthodes Baill.).

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The roots are powdered and mixed with juice squeezed from young pineapple leaves. Some water is added and the mixture is boiled in a pot; banana leaves are stretched over the top to retain the steam. The person or carabao bitten is completely covered with a blanket. Then the boiling pot is placed under the blanket after a few holes have been punched in the top so the steam can escape. When the liquid cools the blanket is removed and the person or carabao rubbed down with the mixture.

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Cattle

Before the war (1939) there were 61,880 cattle in Negros Oriental in comparison with the 39,950 in Negros Occidental.⁷⁶ Siaton had a thriving cattle industry before the war. A Spaniard who lived in Bais had a herd of more than 3,000 cattle that he grazed on Bondo. He owned such varieties as Indian (called Injun by the barriofolk), Sindi, Swiss, Nellori, a common Indian breed that may have come to the Philippines from Australia. Most families living in Bondo owned from four to six head of cattle; they usually owned more cattle than the barriofolk in other parts of Siaton municipality. The cattle were taken by truck to Dumaguete and then shipped to Manila.

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Most of the cattle of the island were killed during the war; in 1948, there were only 17,870 head in Negros

⁷⁶ Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 169.

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Oriental and 8,930 head in Negros Occidental.⁷⁷ The Bais resident who owned 3,000 cattle before the war had a herd of only 15 head in 1951. Most of the people of Caticugan owned a few cattle, largely Indian and Nellori breeds. "Some people sold cows by the dozen" one Naga informant told me. Today, however, only a few barrio folk own cattle in Caticugan, some that were hidden in the interior part of the municipality during the war. I never saw more than 10 head of cattle at one time in Caticugan but I was told cattle were grazed in the surrounding hills. Indian bulls are used to cultivate the fields as are carabaos. Caticugan's cattle will increase but slowly in the future for present high prices make it almost impossible for the average family to purchase an animal.

Horses

Siaton municipality was once a fairly prosperous cattle raising center. Before the last war more horses were raised in this area than was typical for most Philippine municipalities of the same size. In 1939 there were 12,860 horses in Negros Oriental (8,730 in Negros Occidental); because of the war the number of horses in 1948 were 6,040 in Negros Oriental (4,300 in Negros Occidental).⁷⁸

⁷⁷Facts and Figures About the Economic and Social Conditions of the Philippines, 1948-1949. Manila, Office of the President, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Bureau of Printing, 1950, pp. 155 and 150. Hereafter quoted as Facts and Figures.

⁷⁸Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 170 and Facts and Figures, pp. 155 and 150.

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The people say today there is "no incentive" to own horses (kabayo) due to the small herds of cattle; the horses were widely used before the war to care for the cattle.

In Caticugan horses are normally ridden by the men and serve as a means of transportation among the barrios; I never saw them used in farming activities, harnessed to any type of vehicle, and only rarely ridden by women. Some horses are kept in corrals in Caticugan but most of them are permitted to roam the nearby hills; it is often a job to catch them when they are wanted. I once counted twenty-one horses grazing in Dangola. Horses are sometimes ridden bareback but normally a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo) is used. The barrio folk eat horse meat when it is available. However, a horse is not killed until it is very old, injured, or sickly; then the animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. My assistant's horse looked sickly so he had it killed and the meat was sold quickly in Barrio Caticugan.

Pigs

The scrawny pig with a bony back and uncurled tail, constantly rooting for food, is a typical barrio sight. Most families have several pigs (baboy); often one pig is the "fiesta pig" fattened during the year for this celebration. Next to beef, pork is the most prized meat. The native pig is called baboy while the few foreign strains are called Inglesa. A nursing pig is called anay while her young are known as baktin.

For those who have no boars (botakal) the breeding fee is one pig from the resulting litter. (owners of many pigs give some of their females to friends to tend. If the female is small, the caretaker gets one-half of every litter produced by the pig while under his care. When the mature pig is killed, he gets one-half of the meat. Individuals in the poblacion often "farm out" a number of their pigs to friends in the barrio under these arrangements.

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There is an amusing riddle about a mother pig and her litter known in Caticugan.

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The one ahead is marching,
Those following are making music. What are they?

(Ang nag-uan gamarcha,
Ang nanga ulahi gasonata). Unsa man?

Young male pigs are usually caponized by their owners. The pig is caught, the legs tied, and the testes removed with a small knife. Some put the testes in a banana stalk so the pig will become "as big and fat as the banana tree." The juice of talong leaves is often squeezed on the wound to prevent infection.

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The most common method of preparing pig food (lalog) is to cut a banana stalk into very thin slices and then pound the slices to a mush in the rice mortar. This mush is mixed with water that has been used to clean rice or cornmeal before cooking or to wash kitchen utensils. Nearly every kitchen has a container where this water (kinilis) is poured to be used for pig food. Tahop (chaff from ground corn) is often added to the pig's food. Cooked gabi leaves are fed the pigs for the

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uncooked leaves are itchy and the pigs will not eat them. The food is put in a bamboo or stone trough placed under the house. Pigs are fed once a day, usually in the late afternoon. The job of preparing food and feeding them usually is done by young girls and women.

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[4Q]

One fairly widespread custom is the belief that a small turtle kept in kinilis water may prevent the pigs from becoming sick. The urine and feces of the little fresh-water turtles are said to have medicinal qualities and protect the pig from hog cholera. One family had three turtles in the kitchen kinilis can.

Stray pigs do a great deal of damage to vegetable gardens. In the poblacion the people explain the few vegetable gardens as due to stray pigs and goats. A local ordinance makes owners liable for their stray animals; now and then a drive is made by the police to fine owners of stray pigs. On the whole, however, the ordinance is not enforced, mainly because few people report violations. Many people complain but few take action.

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Goats

Goats (kending), like swine, are a pre-Spanish animal; Pigafetta writes that when Magellan's group landed at Cebu the people had pigs, goats and chickens. Goat meat is considered less desirable than pork by most of the people; the principalia of the poblacion would rarely serve goat meat to guests. However, the goats of Siaton

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are said today to be more numerous than before the war. One man has a herd of 150 goats that graze on Bondo.

Goats are much easier to care for than pigs. A rattan-woven collar is put around their necks and they are tied to stakes to graze. Now and then, like horses, they may be driven to the sea to obtain salt.

Most Filipinos do not drink goat milk. For Caticugan barriofolk this is not due to a dislike of milk; canned milk is a luxury much desired. The reasons why no goat's milk is drunk are that the female goats are either pregnant or they are nursing kids. The people prefer increase in the herd to drinking the milk. No handicrafts use goat or pig hides since the method of preparing the animals for eating does not produce any skins.

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Chickens

One of my favorite riddles collected in Caticugan is:

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Rain or shine,
Always wearing short pants. What is it?

(Mag-ulan ug mag-init,
Sigi rang gapinungkol. Unsa man?)⁷⁹

The answer is "a rooster": Nearly every family in Caticugan had a few chickens (manok). Fowls run loose, foraging for food during the day; at night they roost in the trees.

⁷⁹There is a similar Tagalog riddle: "Muddy or not muddy, the dress is raised to the knees." Manuel Buaken, I Have Lived with the American People. Idaho, Caston Printers, Ltd., 1948, p. 353.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI¹ shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

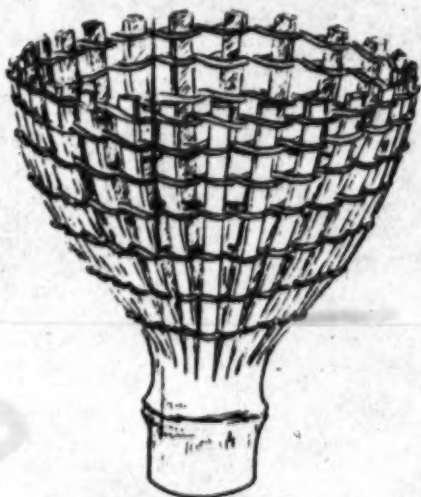
During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1[See p.432, Cat. 231--Analyst]

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
Central Bisayan OAI4

pg 432



Scale: 1" = 4"

Chicken Nest PLATE XXXI

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The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."⁵

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the socon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oracion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Mauolea junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate II, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the socon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

⁵Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

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It is a frequent saingia volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.¹¹ The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

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[23] •

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

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Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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¹¹Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is puhgapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

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only other wild root that is included in this belief is 222
olabi. All other corms may be dug while the diggers talk
and laugh. The reason given is that "these plants have
roots that are shallow and easy to dig while balvakag
and olabi are hard work to get."

Lahia is an easily obtainable corm; sometimes
they protrude above the surface of the ground. The lahia
corm looks much like the bulb of a gladiola; it is a
species of Dioscorea. Small girls sometimes dig for
lahia in the hills near Catibugan. These corms are said
to have less starch and to be more fibrous than balvakag.
One family in Talo-ot planted lahia corms in the hills
near their house and reported that people living in the
mountains planted lahia "like corn." Lahia are prepared [231] ●
like the balvakag and the peelings often fed to pigs.

Balvakag and the other corms are washed, peeled,
and boiled or roasted over the fire. Iga and Kobang,
however, must be carefully processed to remove certain
toxins. Balvakag corms, some people said, were some-
times sold in the poblacion marketplace; this did not
occur during my residence.

Taposi, olabi and bolho also are dug during the
dry season--mostly by women because the corms are shallow.
Since the bolot (a species of Dioscorea) is a thorny vine
and the tubers are deep, men dig for them more often than
women. In digging the bolot it is important not to cut
the long root leading to the corm "or you may never find
it." The barriofolk said that people living in the northern

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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.²⁰

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

WOODEN SADDLES

Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but

²⁰A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.

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